

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----041613Z 128667 /41

O P 041511Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 378  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 4116

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT REPEAT OTHER ADDRESSEES AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, GR, US  
SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT'S FORTHCOMING BILATERAL MEETING IN  
LONDON WITH CARAMANLIS--COMMENTS BY CARAMANLIS

REF: A. ATHENS 3982, B. ATHENS 3920, C. STATE 095686

1. I MET PRIVATELY TODAY WITH PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS  
AND HIS RIGHT-HAND MAN, MOLYVIATIS, TO DISCUSS SEVERAL  
BILATERAL MATTERS (SEPTELS) AND CARAMANLIS' FORTHCOMING  
TRIP TO LONDON. ON JKWHOLE, CARAMANLIS WAS NOT AT HIS  
BEST-- AND THOUGH SITTING UPRIGHT IN A STRAIGHT CHAIR  
HAD NOT FULLY RECOVERED FROM HIS RECENT BOUT WITH  
LUMBAGO--AND HE SEEMED MUCH MORE DISCONSOLATE AND  
DISCOURAGED THAN USUAL.

2. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW HE FELT ABOUT  
THINGS IN GENERAL, CARAMANLIS RESPONDED THAT THE INTERNAL  
SITUATION IN GREECE WAS GOOD BUT THE INTERNATIONAL  
SITUATION BAD. INTERNALLY, GREECE HAD STABILITY,  
HEALTHY AND OPEN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND WAS REGISTERING  
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STEADY AND SATISFACTORY ECONOMIC PROGRESS. UNFORTUNATELY,  
ON THE INTERNATIONAL SIDE, HE FEARED THAT GREECE FACED  
A PERIOD OF CONTINUING TENSION AND UNCERTAINTY WITH  
TURKEY, AN ALL BUT FROZEN SITUATION ON CYPRUS, WORRYING  
CURRENTS AND TRENDS AMONG GREECE'S WESTERN DEMOCRATIC  
ALLIES, AND FEW SIGNS AS YET THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION  
IN WASHINGTON WAS PREPARED TO ADOPT THE MAIN LINES OF

POLICY TOWARDS TURKEY THAT HE THOUGHT NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH THE MAJOR PROBLEMS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. MOREOVER, HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS NOT ENCOUNTERING SUFFICIENT UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION ON THE PART OF THE EC COUNTRIES CONCERNING GREECE'S ENTRY INTO THE COMMUNITY.

3. I ASKED CARAMANLIS WHAT HE EXPECTED TO DISCUSS WITH THE PRESIDENT IN LONDON IN THEIR BILATERAL MEETING MAY 10TH. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT UNFORTUNATELY THERE WOULD BE INSUFFICIENT TIME -- ONLY A HALF HOUR-- FOR HIM TO HAVE A THOROUGH DISCUSSION ON OVERALL AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS ISSUES OF PRIMARY CONCERN TO GREECE. THEREFORE, CARAMANLIS SAID, HE WOULD MERELY SEEK TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT PRESIDENT CARTER WAS REALLY AWARE OF THE SERIOUSNESS AND DANGER OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT LAY "ROTTING" BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND ON CYPRUS. HE WOULD ASK IF THE PRESIDENT HAD ANY SPECIAL QUESTIONS HE WOULD LIKE TO ASK AND CARAMANLIS SAID HE WOULD SPEAK AS FRANKLY AND AS OBJECTIVELY AS HE COULD IN ORDER TO TRY AND HELP THE PRESIDENT UNDERSTAND AND MAKE THE USG'S PROPER CONTRIBUTION TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THESE ISSUES. HE SAID HE WOULD ASK THE PRESIDENT IF INDEED THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON HAD A "NEW POLICY" TOWARD THE AREA AND, IF SO, WHAT THE MAIN LINES OF THAT POLICY WERE. HE INTENDED TO TELL THE PRESIDENT THAT IF THE PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS HE HAD HAD FROM WASHINGTON

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FORESHADOWED PRESIDENT CARTER'S OVERALL POLICY, THEN IT WAS NOT NEW AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE MAKING THE SAME MISTAKES AS ITS PREDECESSOR.

4. I DISAGREED WITH THIS AND POINTED OUT THE CONCEPTS WHICH CHARACTERIZED CLARK CLIFFORD'S EARLIER RECOMMENDATIONS AND UNDERLAY COUNSELOR NIMETZ' STATEMENT TO THE CONGRESS SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. I STRESSED THAT THIS WAS INDEED A NEW APPROACH AND OFFERED THE BEST HOPE OF SUCCESS. NOT TRUE, SAID CARAMANLIS. THE SO-CALLED "NEW APPROACH" IS BASED ON THE SAME PREMISE: THAT THE USG MUST BE TO SOME EXTENT "SOFT" AND FORTHCOMING TO ALLOW TURKEY TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE ON CYPRUS AND ACCOMMODATING IN THE AEGEAN, AS WELL AS TO AVOID DRIVING TURKEY FROM ITS WESTERN ALLIANCE AND TIES. THIS POLICY HAS BEEN TRIED SEVERAL TIMES BEFORE, CARAMANLIS SAID, AND IT FAILED EVERYTIME. IF THAT WERE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH, IT WOULD FAIL AGAIN, BECAUSE IT WAS FOUNDED ON A FALSE PREMISE. CARAMANLIS SAID HE WOULD EXPLAIN TO

THE PRESIDENT IF HE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY IN LONDON, THAT THE USG MUST BE STRONG, FORTHRIGHT AND UNCOMPROMISING WITH TURKEY AND NEVER IN ANYWAY SHAPE OR FORM APPEAR TO BE YIELDING TO TURKEY'S "BLACKMAIL". (COMMENT: I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT CARAMANLIS DOES IN FACT APPRECIATE THE "NEW" FEATURES IN THE USG STANCE VIS-A-VIS TURKEY, BUT FOR OBVIOUS REASONS WILL APPEAR TO BE CRITICAL AND DISSATISFIED WITH IT.)

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-----041620Z 128752 /40

O P 041511Z MAY 77  
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AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 4116

EXDIS

5. CARAMANLIS SAID HE WAS VERY WORRIED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN TURKEY. HE HAD HOPED AGAINST HOPE THAT THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS IN JUNE MIGHT RESULT IN A STRONG GOVERNMENT IN ANKARA AND PERHAPS EVEN SOME KIND OF COALITION OF WORKING UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ECEVIT AND DEMIREL. THEN GREECE AND OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE A QUALIFIED INTERLOCUTOR WITH WHOM TO DISCUSS THE FESTERING PROBLEMS IN THE AREA. HOWEVER, HE SAW NO POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER OF THIS NOW AND, INDEED, FEARED THERE MIGHT BE SOME KING OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE POLITICAL SCENE IN TURKEY WHICH CONCEIVABLY COULD LEAD TO AN ESCALATION OF THE DANGER OF CONFLICT WITH GREECE. IF HE GOT THE CHANCE, CARAMANLIS WOULD URGE PRESIDENT CARTER TO SUPPORT GREECE'S 3-POINT PROCEDURAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE AEGEAN, AS EXPLAINED IN DETAIL TO CLIFFORD WHEN HE VISITED ATHENS.

6. ON CYPRUS, CARAMANLIS SAID THAT MAKARIOS WAS READY "TO GIVE SATISFACTION" TO THE TURKS AND MEET ALL THEIR MAJOR DEMANDS. BUT ON THE TURKISH SIDE NOTHING

REALLY IS HAPPENING. HE SAID HE PREDICTED TWO YEARS AGO  
TO TURKISH LEADERS THAT IF THEY WRE NOT CAREFUL THEY  
WOULD END UP AS THE PRISONERS INSTEAD OF THE  
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CONQUERORS OF CYPRUS, AND THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT APPEARS  
TO HAVE HAPPENED.

7. ON U.S. -GREEK BILATERAL RELATIONS, HE FELT THEY  
CONTINUED TO EVOLVE SATISFACTORILY. HE SAID, IN RESPONSE  
TO MY DIRECT QUESTIONING, THAT HE HAD ISSUED CATEGORICAL  
INSTRUCTIONS TO GREEK REPRESENTATIVES TO FINISH THE  
BILATERAL DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT TOGETHER WITH  
ALL ITS ANNEXES AND APENDICES. HE SAID HE WANTED THESE  
NEGOTIATIONS FINISHED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, ALTHOUGH HE  
WISHED TO RESERVE TO HIMSELF FOR THE TIME BING THE  
DECISION AS TO WHEN IT WOULD BE OPPORTUNE FOR HIM  
TO PRESENT THE DOCUMENTS TO THEGREEK PARLIAMENT FOR  
DEBATE AND APPROVAL. HOWEVER, THIS NEED NOT IMPEDE IN ANY-  
WAY THE RAPID CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES.

8. COMMENT: TO THE EXTENT HE HAS THE TIME AND OPPORTUNITY  
TODO SO, CARAMANLIS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY SEEK TO BRIEF PRESI-  
DENT CARTER ON HIS VIEWS AND TO PERSUADE THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE NEED TO BE TOUGHER ON TURKEY AND MORE SUPPORTIVE OF  
GREECE. HE IS LIKELY TO MAKE SOME KIND OF DISTILLED AND  
BRIEFER EXPOSITION ALONG THE LINES HE MADE TO CLARK  
CLIFFORD LAST FEBRUARY 18.

8. ONE THING MORE; A POSSIBLE VISIT TO WASHINGTON.  
CARAMANLIS DID NOT RAISE THIS SUBJECT WITH ME TODAY NOR,  
OF COURSE, DID IT, HOWEVER, I SENSED THAT IT IS VERY MUCH  
ON HIS MIND AND THAT HE WILL SOMEWHO TRY TO ELICIT AN  
INVITATION FROM THE PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES-  
IF POSSIBLE, LATER THIS YEAR OR, IF NOT, EARLY IN 1978.  
IN TERMS OF U.S.-GREEK RELATIONS ALONE, I HAVE NO  
HESITANCY WHATSOEVER IN STRONGLY RECOMMENDING SUCH A  
VISIT. PERHAPS IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO EXTEND THE  
INVITATION AND REACH AGREEMENT "IN PRINCIPLE" FOR SUCH A  
VISIT AT SOME LATER DATE AT A MUTUALLYAGREEABLE TIME.

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## Message Attributes

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